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Notes of the Week

Power of Uniform

"WOMEN are in the war because war cannot be conducted without them," says Secretary of War Daniels, with some perception. "Across the water in the early days of the war there were mobilized organizations of patriotic women. They organized to serve and to help, but they largely failed of their purpose because of their division of interest. They lacked a uniform and a coordinating head." He was addressing the Woman's Advisory Committee.

Women who are learning from plainest experience of mismanagement and waste their life-and-death need of political power to fill the responsibilities of citizenship will soon pass the point where they can be amused by the insulting absurdities of statesmen who cannot see beyond an ingenious uniform of blue veil and white collar to placate them in their desire for service. Remarks like these are fuel for the women's revolution.

They Can Fight Too

CONGRESS is in a melting humor. Women are to be eligible for enlistment in the army and navy "for any service the Secretary of War may designate," and may receive commissions as officers in the aviation service, according to a bill introduced this week in the House by Congressman Murray Hurlbut of New York. The bill followed the War Department's refusal to commission Ruth Law, aviator, for foreign service.

Mr. Hurlbut is a convert to feminism. His education has been rapidly completed. On June 1st he was still firm against the federal amendment for suffrage. On December 8th he was reported by lobbyists of the Woman's Party as "non-committal." A day or so later he confessed to a woman constituent that he will vote "yes" when the vote is taken. Now he is plainly willing to throw up the sponge and let them take all labor for their province.

The All-Important Question

AT the beginning of December the Administration took first steps to work out a labor program through the Council of National Defense. Mr. L. O. Marshall, Dean of the University of Chicago School of Commerce, is to direct investigation about the demand and supply of labor and "the all-important question of diluting the labor supply by the employment of women," so that the government can act "promptly and intelligently" in mobilizing the great industrial army upon which the outcome of the war depends.

The first prompt and intelligent move the government should make in this program is to pass the Susan B. Anthony amendment. In England the pouring of women into every kind of industry produced a chaos that has had to work itself painfully through full labor organization and finally to the enfranchisement of women. In the United States the enfranchisement must come first.

Suffrage in Holland

ON the thirtieth of November Queen Wilhelmina signed a bill that revises the Dutch constitution. The new constitution, according to the *International Suffrage News,* offers a long step ahead toward full suffrage for Dutch women in doing away with the clause that has explicitly prevented amendment of the constitution for suffrage. Women will now have "passive suffrage"—the right to hold office—and Parliament can now enfranchise them by simply passing a bill with a majority. Women are expected to sit in the next Parliament and they will undoubtedly be able to force through their full suffrage in short order.

During the autumn session of 1916 Dutch suffragists picketed the lower house of Parliament which was holding up this revision for suffrage. For months they stood at the entrance of Parliament carrying banners that read, "We want the vote." Other women sat in the balconies listening to the debate and directing the arguments of their supporters by notes whenever suffrage came into the debate. The spirit of the Dutch pickets, which is now coming into victory, was one of the inspirations of the United States picket which the United States has so far answered by lawless prison sentences.

Suffrage Bill Through First Stages

THE Representation of the People's Bill last week passed its third reading in the English House of Commons.

The quick passage of the bill by the House of Lords is so confidently expected that political parties are already working on the assumption that six million women will vote at the next election. The Labor Party is sending out women organizers to win the women's vote for labor. The Scottish Men's and Women's Associations have amalgamated. It is expected that the age-limit of thirty, designed to prevent the number of women voters exceeding that of men, will be only temporary because the tide of public opinion is so fully set for suffrage.

Canada Yields to Demand of Women

THE last Canadian Parliament, under Premier Borden's lead, enfranchised the mothers, wives and daughters of soldiers. Women protested vigorously against this limited suffrage. The National Suffrage Association called it a "disfranchise act," designed by the party in power to swell the conservative vote.

Sir Robert Borden, having forced this measure through and dismissed parliament, now promises to keep the promise he broke when he gave this brand of suffrage. He promises, *if the country backs him in the next election,* "to extend the franchise to all women."

Revolution

"THE Sinn Fein prisoners were released from jail to create a proper atmosphere for the Irish Convention," says a despatch from Ireland to the Christian Science Monitor. The Sinn Fein leaders hunger struck in jail to insist on being given the rights of political prisoners—rights long established by the British government but denied these Irish revolutionists. One of them, Thomas Ashe, died of hunger striking, and the rest of them won, first their demands, and then their release from prison.

Thirty-odd American women were released from a federal prison in this country a few days before the convening of Congress. These revolutionists for women's freedom hungerstruck also in prison, several came near to dying, and they won their release. The federal amendment through Congress is the next step. Congress brought it up in the first week of the session. The women are waiting.

Two Brands of Statesmanship

THE Prussian electoral reform bill for universal male suffrage was brought up this week in the lower house of the Prussian Diet. Chancellor Von Hertling urged its passage:

"This will evoke in wide circles painful feelings, and serious objections," he said. "But the task of true statesmanship is to take innovations in hand courageously when the people's need for developments require them. It is my deepest conviction that this need has now arisen. The present electoral system is obsolete and you will do the Fatherland a great service if you assent to the proposals."

It is an odd paradox that the one government which is in this war "for democracy" has so far been too blind to see the political force of democracy at home. There seems to be more "true statesmanship" for expedient compromise with reform in the enemy autocracy.

Progress in Switzerland

IN October women in the Canton of Neuchatel voted for members of the Conseils de Prud'hommes, councils to settle disputes between workers and employers. This is the first time Swiss women have voted in any except ecclesiastical elections. Many women were candidates for the Conseils as well; how many were elected is not yet reported.

In Switzerland each canton is independent, and suffrage has to be won in slow, piecemeal fashion. Neuchatel gave its women this measure of franchise in November, 1916.

Woman's Party Keeps Its Single Purpose

National Advisory Council Conference Considers Amalgamation with New National Party

ON Friday afternoon before the open session of the Conference of the Advisory Council, state officers, and heads of departments of the National Woman's Party, Mr. J. A. H. Hopkins, of New Jersey, and Mr. Allan McCurdy, of New York, presented plans for a possible amalgamation of the forces of the newly-founded National Party and the National Woman's Party.

The National Advisory Council Conference, for which nearly three hundred officers of the National Woman's Party gathered in Washington last week, December 6, 7, 8 and 9, was called together to consider this question. The National Party, of which Mr. Hopkins and Mr. McCurdy are members of the national executive committee, was recently organized at a Chicago convention by one wing of the Socialists, the Progressives, Single Taxers, Progressive Democrats, Prohibitionists and Independents. This Party plans to enter the 1918 elections to elect Congressmen enough to give them the balance of power in Congress. Some months ago they asked the Woman's Party to join with them. The national executive committee of the Woman's Party, which has the responsibility for action between conventions, considered the matter but did not care to act upon it without getting the opinion of the officers of the Party, both as to whether political combination of this kind was wise and whether a national convention should be called to act upon it. They therefore called the officers into conference.

The conference opened on Thursday evening with a reception at Rauscher's. On Friday the business sessions opened, the National Advisory Council meeting in the morning, the whole conference in the afternoon for this discussion. On Saturday the state chairmen met in the morning, the whole conference again in the afternoon to hear the report of the resolutions committee on the question of amalgamation. A dinner and mass meeting followed the business sessions.

MR. Hopkins, in explaining the aim of the new Party, said that the members of the National Party foresaw the consolidation of the conservatives in the two great political parties, the Republican and the Democratic, to insure future dominance of conservatism as opposed to liberalism. The hope of the National Party is that it will offer an opportunity for greater solidarity among the Liberals of this country and that such solidarity may be effectively organized for action in the next campaign.

He pointed out that the recent activities of the National Woman's Party in the fight for the federal amendment were of such a nature that they included the right of free speech, free assembly and peaceful petition; that these fundamental principles in a democracy were of vital interest to the members of the National Party. He stated that although the work of the National Woman's Party would probably remain concentrated on the federal amendment for woman suffrage, individual members of the National Woman's Party could find an avenue for political expression along all liberal lines in the National Party and hoped that a plan for effective co-operation in organization between the two parties might be considered for the next campaign.

AFTER Mr. Hopkins had spoken much interest was manifested in the new National Party and Mr. Allan McCurdy on addressing the conference was asked to read the platform of his party. Mr. McCurdy gave a succinct analysis of the National Party platform. He explained that it has three divisions, the political democracy of our own country, industrial democracy and international democracy. The first article in the platform urges universal suffrage. There follow planks approving of the initiative, referendum and recall, coupled with the short ballot; of an executive budget; of proportional representation; of cabinet responsibility. The platform contains a plank on the freedom of speech and press, one on prohibition, one on prison reform and one on uniform divorce law. Under industrial democracy there is the consideration of the extinction of land monopolies with a plank providing for progressive public ownership of certain public utilities; there is consideration of the farmers' problem, the problem of transportation, storage and marketing and the progressive application of land according to its rental values; and the abolition of grain speculation. A forward-looking program for labor legislation, securing to labor its rights against arbitrary injunctions, securing to labor protection of their workers by governmental insurance against sickness, injury and death in injury.

Finally under the section international democracy the Party platform calls for the abolition of secret diplomacy and the reorganization of international relations. This is followed by a war declaration in which the National Party affirms its loyalty to the Nation and to its Allies in the securing of those aims which have been so explicitly stated in the words of President Wilson.

MR. McCURDY said that the National Party offered a hope for the great body of people who have looked first to one party and then to another and who have come to a realization of the fact that whether it is a Republican or Democratic party each party is but the right and the left hand of the same few who always seem to achieve their own personal victories no matter which political party is in the seat of power. Mr. McCurdy made a stirring appeal to his audience when he said, "What group of people realizes as you women do the truth of Sir Charles Napier's remark, 'Idiots talk of agitators; there is but one—injustice.'" He ended by an appeal to the members of the National Woman's Party to come into this people's party now forming and to make that party responsive to those needs of the great, unheard democracy in America.

THE conference which was acting in an advisory capacity to the national executive committee submitted the proposals to a resolutions committee for consideration and the committee reported the following day. Mrs. Robert Baker, chairman, reported for the committee, which was composed of Mrs. Elinor Carlisle, of California; Mrs. Sophie Meredith, of Virginia; Miss Callahan, of Kentucky, and Mrs. Florence Hilles of Delaware. The resolutions, which were adopted unanimously by the National Woman's Party, expressed appreciation of the invitation of the National but stated that the National Woman's Party will for the present avoid any political alliances as it has in the past. The resolutions read as follows:

WHEREAS, This conference of the National Advisory Council, State Chairmen, and elected officers of the National Woman's Party was called to consider the invitation extended in the spring of 1917 by the committee formed to create the National Party, that the National Woman's Party amalgamate, or cooperate with the National Party; and

Whereas, The platform of the National Party decided upon in Chicago in October has now been presented to the conference; and

Whereas, Such an amalgamation between the two parties would commit the National Woman's Party to the support of many different measures, and prevent concentration upon the one issue for which it is organized, namely, the passage of an amendment to the United States Constitution enfranchising women; Therefore be it

Resolved, That this meeting of the Advisory Council, the National Committee of State Chairmen, and elected officers of the National Woman's Party, states as its opinion that it would be more helpful to the immediate passage of the suffrage amendment to have the National Woman's Party maintain its singleness of purpose and its identity as a separate organization. It further states as its opinion that it would be well to consider co-operation with the National Party in the coming Congressional elections in case the national suffrage amendment has not been passed by that time.

Whereas, The most important legislation now pending in Congress concerns the extension of democracy to half the citizens of the United States; Therefore be it

Resolved, That this conference of the Advisory Council, State Chairmen, and elected officers of the National Woman's Party, representing forty-eight states, demand that the President use his power with Congress to secure the immediate submission of the federal woman suffrage amendment and thus bring to an end the intolerable delay in the enfranchisement of American women.

National Advisory Council Organizes

THIRTY-ONE members of the National Advisory Council of the Woman's Party attended the National Conference of officers in Washington last week, December 6, 7, 8 and 9.

They met in a closed business session on Friday morning, with Mrs. John Rogers, Jr., of New York, chairman of the Council, presiding.

Discussion of the main question before the conference, the proposal of the National party that the National Woman's Party join forces with it, either completely or to elect a number of Congressmen in the 1918 elections, was postponed until the afternoon session when the committee from the new liberal party was to lay its plan before the conference. Reports were made by Mrs. Rogers and Miss Mary Gertrude Fendall, treasurer. Miss Paul summed up the legislative situation. The summary of the year's work offered striking proof of what the aggressive, active policy of the Woman's Party has won in the amendment fight.

GIFTS from the National Advisory Council to the organization during the last year, reported Miss Mary Gertrude Fendall, treasurer, amounted to over fourteen thousand dollars. During the year the membership advanced from ninety to one hundred and ninety-five members. These women are helping to bear the heavier responsibilities of the organization, thirty-four being members of Mrs. William Kent's headquarters committee. Forty-three members of the Advisory Council gave all their spare time and funds to the work of the national organization. The same percentage have organized deputations, spoken at meetings, given hospitality, or assisted with the work of the organization with their writings.

It was interesting in reviewing the activity of the National Council to realize that during the ten month's siege of the White House which was maintained until after the close of the last Congress, twenty-one members of the National Advisory Council stood on the picket line in Washington in front of the White House. Seven have been arrested and served terms in prison for their belief in liberty, the terms varying from three to thirty days. Two went to Occoquan workhouse for sixty days, and were pardoned by the President, and two were imprisoned twice. Mrs. Agnes H. Morey, of Massachusetts, and Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, of the District of Columbia, were on the last dramatic picket line of forty-one women which demanded that suffrage be taken up at the opening of Congress. Mrs. Morey served sentence until released by the order of the sentencing Judge, November 27.

MRS. John Rogers, of New York, addressing the Council as chairman, brought out the significance of the year's work. "This is the fourth meeting of the National Advisory Council," said Mrs. Rogers. "Each time it has met has marked an epoch in the history of the national organization. In September, 1914, we met at Newport where plans were made for our first campaign against Democratic Congressmen in the suffrage States because of the opposition of the party in power to the federal suffrage amendment.

"The second meeting was held in New York in March, 1915, where the Advisory Council endorsed the plan of organizing branches of the Congressional Union in every State.

"The third meeting was held in Washington in April, 1916, when we approved the sending of the Suffrage Special into the Western States to appeal to women voters to form the Woman's Party in order better to use their political power for the freedom of all women.

"At this fourth meeting of our body we find ourselves facing a crucial moment for our cause. Victory or defeat will come in January. The likelihood of victory is greater than ever before. What has brought this about? Let us go back to last spring and look at the situation we then faced. It was this: How, in the midst of a great war, absorbing the souls and bodies of the public, the press, the President and Congress, to keep our cause in the light and alive, to get action on it.

"With the tremendous outpourings of strength and energy and time and money, we had pushed suffrage steadily to the front of public attention. Must we now lose the result of years of agitation? As Miss Paul said, we must focus upon suffrage the attention of the public, the press, Congress and the President, show that the responsibility lies at the gates of the executive; make him see that if he posed as the champion of world democracy, it was necessary to grant our great measure of democracy to America. Picketing was to visualize the suffrage cause before the world.

"We continued our picket of the White House, making the words on our banners boldly challenge all insincerity. They virtually said day in and day out, to President Wilson, 'Make your words deeds!'

"Yes, the pickets have kept the suffrage flag flying.

"When the members of the Council separate for their various States there are certain points I wish you would carry with you: First, the key to an understanding of the policies of the National Woman's Party is always to be found in watching the effect of those policies on the federal suffrage amendment. They are planned with that end in view, and that alone. Judge the effect on the President, not by what he thinks of us, but by what he does for the amendment. Considered from this point of view what effect have the pickets had on the amendment?

"From the moment of the jailing of women, the amendment prospered. Immediately after Senator Jones, chairman of the Woman Suffrage Committee of the Senate, visited Occoquan, the President allowed the Senate suffrage committee to report the amendment favorably out of committee. When more women were jailed, when Lucy Burns and many others were serving sixty days in Occoquan, the President allowed Chairman Pou, of the Rules Committee, to let the House vote on the proposed suffrage committee in the House, and the resolution carried.

"When the jail and Occoquan were full of our political prisoners in November, the government released them a few days before Congress opened.

"THOUGH the President did not mention suffrage in his message, on the very day it was given to the public, the press carried the news that suffrage would be pressed to a vote early this session of Congress.

"The pickets, we believe, forced the attention of the President to suffrage. First we had words from him—words to Tennessee; more words to Maine; more words to New York; more and more and more desire for "the speedy success of the cause." Then we had the word to Congress given for the little step of the formation of the suffrage committee. And in Congress itself we have gained over fifty votes since picketing began.

"Again the effect of picketing on the press has been excellent. The day after the sixteen women went to Occoquan the New York Times carried the headline 'The President may urge the Suffrage Amendment;' and ever since the press has stated over and over that suffrage would be pressed to a vote. Truly the pickets pressed the press, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific people were compelled to think of what the pickets wanted.

"In the New York campaign where the Socialist vote was conceded to be the deciding factor, picketing by its widespread publicity forced the Socialists to activity for this cause, which they have always advocated.

"The effect of picketing on ourselves is to be considered, and clearly shows overwhelming gains. From the time of the arrests money has poured into our treasury. The total collections for 1916 were $111,147.04 and the total collections for eleven months in 1917 are, up to date, $117,579.34. In July of 1917, when the arrests began, the receipts were $21,623.65 as compared with $3,690.62 for July 1916. In August, 1916, the receipts were $8,966.63 and in August, 1917, the receipts were $11,703.53. In November, 1916, the receipts were $15,008.18; in November, 1917, they were $31,117.87.

"Our membership has increased not only through the support of individuals but through whole groups of suffragists coming into the National Woman's Party. Far from alienating our own members the picket campaign has brought us forward in leaps and bounds towards victory this winter."

MRS. John Rogers, Jr., will continue as chairman of the Council for the coming year. Miss Marion May was elected secretary, and the following women vice-chairmen: Mrs. Alden Potter, Minnesota; Mrs. Avery Coonly, Illinois; Mrs. Edwin C. Grice, Pennsylvania; Miss Susan

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Judiciary Committee Votes to Report Amendment

ON Tuesday, December 11, the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives voted to report the National Suffrage Amendment to the House.

Representative Graham, of Pennsylvania, moved that the resolution be reported by the Judiciary Committee without recommendation. Mr. Chandler, of New York, formerly vigorous in his opposition to the Amendment but now speaking as the representative of women voters, moved that the motion be amended to read that the Amendment be reported favorably with the recommendation that it pass. Mr. Walsh, of Massachusetts, moved to amend the motion to read that the Suffrage Amendment should be reported with an unfavorable recommendation. Both Mr. Chandler's and Mr. Walsh's motions were defeated. Mr. Graham's original motion that the Amendment be reported without recommendation was voted on and carried.

Mr. Graham's motion was amended with the condition that the Amendment should be ratified within seven years. The committee also voted to recommend that the House vote upon the Amendment before Christmas.

Commenting on the new situation, Miss Alice Paul, National Chairman of the Woman's Party, said:

"Suffrage has finally come out of the House 'morgue' where the Administration thought it successfully buried. This is the time for President Wilson to prove his suffrage protestations by doing something for suffrage where his power is effective. A word from him and suffrage will pass the House. Without his influence the result of the vote is doubtful. By speaking, he will secure the credit for the passage of the Amendment for himself and his party. If he refuses to speak he must take the responsibility for the possible defeat. Inaction will be hostile action. In the 1918 congressional elections the women voters will have an opportunity to fix responsibility for the refusal or delay of justice to women

"Even in reporting the measure, the Judiciary Committee which has so obediently blocked the suffrage measure for the last five years has tried to add an unsatisfactory condition. The time limit on ratification has brought up a grave question of constitutionality in the case of prohibition. It might make the validity of our measure doubtful. The national suffrage amendment, as drafted by suffragists, has no time clause. We shall not be satisfied by any action which makes doubtful the validity of the measure as passed.

"The committee urges an early vote. We urge a favorable and early vote. Various polls show that suffrage needs only a few more votes in the House. It is for the Administration to secure these votes for suffrage as it secured a favorable majority for child labor and other administration measures."

Ten Pickets Appeal Their Cases

THE case of the pickets against the District of Columbia based upon illegal arrests for obstructing traffic has been presented to the Court of Appeals by Mr. Matthew O'Brien in the October sessions of court.

These are two sets of appeals granted women who picketed on August 23 and August 28 and were sentenced to a fine of $25 or thirty days in jail. The women in the first group were Gertrude Hunter, a Minneapolis lawyer; Mrs. Clara Fuller, an editor of Little Falls, Minnesota; Mrs. Kate Boeckh, of Washington; Mrs. Mary Lockwood and Mrs. Pauline Adams, of Virginia, and Miss Margaret Fotheringham, of Buffalo. The same women were in the other group, with Mrs. Caroline Beach, of Lexington, Kentucky; Miss Vivian Pierce, of California; Miss Maude Jamison, of Virginia, and Miss Lucy Burns, of New York, in addition.

After the trials Attorney O'Brien made a hurried journey to Falmouth, Massachusetts, to apply for the appeals to Justice Robb. They were granted. In the twenty-four years since the Court of Appeals was established only sixty-seven appeals from the Police Court have been granted, though the average number of arrests is thirty-five thousand. After granting the second appeal the Justice declared he would never grant another in these cases. Mrs. Harvey Wiley, sentenced for picketing on November 9, applied for an appeal, which has not been granted.

Mr. O'Brien's argument of their case filed with the court states that "An examination of the record in this case shows that the rights of the plaintiffs in error were flagrantly disregarded in the trial court and that they were not accorded what every person charged with crime is entitled to—a fair and impartial trial—and that they were convicted not on evidence that they had committed any breach of the law but because of prejudice against their mode of petitioning the President of the United States for woman suffrage by standing at the gates of the White House with banners expressing their petition.

"From the arrests of the plaintiffs in error to the final judgment of the Police Court everything done by the police and the prosecuting officers as well as the manner in which the trial was conducted by the Police Court was unlawful. There was no justification for the arrests. There was no proper or valid information filed against them in the Police Court. There was no right of trial by jury accorded them. There was an arbitrary conviction without any evidence to support it and a judgment not warranted by law."

The case will be heard by the Court of Appeals sometime early in January.

Pickets Sue for $400,000.00

BECAUSE they were subjected to cruel and brutal treatment during a ten day's unlawful imprisonment in the workhouse at Occoquan, Va., on the charge of "obstructing traffic" with a suffrage banner, eight suffragists filed suits for damages aggregating $400,000 against the District of Columbia Commissioners and against Warden Zinkham of the District Jail. They are also filing suits in the federal court of the Eastern District of Virginia, against Superintendent Whittaker of Occoquan and the Captain of the workhouse guards, Emanuel Reams.

These suits are being brought by the suffrage prisoners who suffered the greatest indignities during the "night of terror" at the workhouse.

The District Commissioners are sued not only for injuries received at Occoquan, but also because they "did maliciously and wickedly conspire, combine, confederate and agree together to transport" the plaintiffs from the District jail to the workhouse, where the circumstances of imprisonment were entirely different, and that they did this "maliciously intending to hurt, wound and injure" the plaintiffs.

In a habeas corpus proceedings, U. S. District Judge Waddill, of Virginia, has already decided that the transfer of the suffragists from the District jail to the workhouse, which was done by order of the Commissioners, was unlawful.

ALL the other pickets imprisoned at the same time as the eight who are bringing suit, will appear at the trial and give testimony. Though they all suffered from the conditions at the workhouse and the brutality of the guards, they are not bringing suit because it was recognized that no court would grant adequate damages in any one suit if thirty were filed. The total amount would then reach into the millions and be impossible of collection.

Besides the testimony of the pickets, the Woman's party will produce at the trial affidavits which it has on file from former prisoners and officers of the "model workhouse" in Virginia, describing cruel punishments inflicted by Mr. Whittaker's orders on both the men and the women prisoners.

THE women bringing suit are Mrs. John Winters Brannan, of New York, daughter of the late Charles E. Dana, of the New York Sun; Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, of Philadelphia, who was under the care of a trained nurse for days after her release; Mrs. Henry Butterworth, of New York; Miss Dorothy Day, of New York, whose back was twisted by two guards; Miss Julia Emory, of Baltimore, whom Whittaker took by the neck and threw on the stone floor of her cell; Miss Lucy Burns, of Brooklyn, who was manacled to the bars of her cell for calling out "Are you all right?" to her comrades; Mrs. Mary A. Nolan, of Jacksonville, Florida, seventy-three years old; and Mrs. Alice Cosu, of New Orleans.

Crowds Hear Case of Women Against the Administration

POLICE reserves, often called out in the last months to arrest the pickets, were called on Sunday to protect the pickets from the thousands of people—four thousand, the police said—who blocked Madison Place in an effort to honor the pickets at the mass meeting that concluded the Woman's Party conference.

In honor of the pickets, $86,326 was pledged by a cheering audience to carry on the campaign for the Federal Amendment. The spirit of democracy that flamed in the pickets, that sent them to the White House gates and from the White House gates to prison, seemed to spread through the men and women in the audience and arouse their enthusiasm to fever heat. Every reference to democracy in America as a foundation for democracy throughout the world brought instant cheering and applause. The Belasco Theatre was hung with American and suffrage flags, and it was the ideal of the two flags of freedom which aroused the audience to a height of feeling seldom witnessed in a Washington meeting.

OUTSIDE the theatre, Elsie Hill addressed an overflow meeting of disappointed people, who, barred from the theatre by the fire regulations, shivered in the bitter December cold for over an hour, to hear the story of the suffrage pickets.

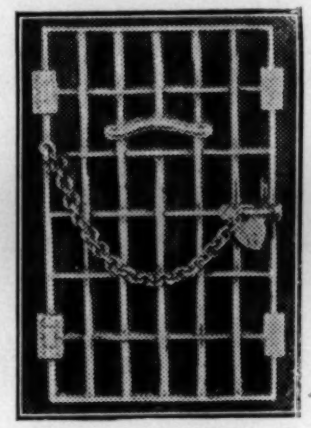
Inside the theatre, what the Woman's Party hopes will be its last picket line marched down the two center aisles of the theatre—eighty-nine white-clad women who have served jail or workhouse sentences, carrying the purple, white and gold tri-color or the lettered banners with which they were arrested. At the stage the two lines met and marched up the steps to take seats behind the speakers. Prison pins, tiny replicas of jail doors, were presented to each "prisoner of freedom," to wear as a decoration of honor for distinguished service in the woman's war for democracy.

Alice Paul was glimpsed as she passed across the stage between two others to receive her pin, and when Dudley Field Malone stepped to the edge of the stage and shouted "Alice Paul" the audience was instantly on its feet, cheering and clapping until she disappeared at the back of the platform.

MRS. O. H. P. Belmont, of New York, who has given so much of her energy, wealth and enthusiasm to the suffrage fight, was the honorary chairman of the afternoon.

"We are here this afternoon," she said, "to do honor to a hundred gallant women, who have endured the hardship and humiliation of imprisonment because they love liberty.

"The suffrage pickets stood at the White House gates for ten months and dramatized the women's agitation for political liberty. Self-respecting and patriotic American women will no longer tolerate a government which denies women the right to govern themselves. A flame of rebellion is abroad among women and the stupidity and brutality of the government in this revolt have only served to increase its heat.



The Pickets' Prison Pin

"As President Wilson wrote, 'Governments have been very resourceful in parrying agitation, diverting it, in seeming to yield to it and then cheating it, tiring it out or evading it. But the end, whether it comes soon or late, is quite certain to be the same.' While the government has endeavored to parry—tire—divert—and cheat us of our goal, the country has risen in protest against this evasive policy of suppression until today the indomitable pickets with their historic legends stand triumphant before the nation. They have made a precious contribution to immediate victory."

MRS. Thomas Hepburn, of Connecticut, the presiding officer, introduced Dudley Field Malone, who was greeted with a tremendous ovation when he arose to speak. The first member of the Administration to resign his position to fight for the freedom of American women, Mr. Malone is held in high admiration by all American lovers of liberty. During his speech he was frequently interrupted by applause, tribute to his inspiring message and eloquent appeal.

On behalf of the Woman's Party, Mrs. William Kent, of California, who herself led the California women in the last dramatic picket line of November 27, presented the prison pins to the pickets.

Mrs. Kent said:

"Have you heard the suggestion that it is well for a housekeeper sometimes to sleep in her guest room bed, so that if there be bumps and hollows of which a guest would not speak, that condition may be known and corrected? In every community we have apartments to which are conducted, though not in the spirit of that Bible feast, the mentally and morally 'lame and halt and blind' among us. These guests may not criticise their quarters. They may not complain. Our suffrage pickets have done a great service in going to the jail and the workhouse and sleeping in those guest room beds of our National Capital. And because of their experience and their reports, these beds will be more comfortable for those that come after them.

"But prison reform was not what brought our comrades to the iron doors. In the midst of this world war we hear much of patriotism and we are filled with great love of country. We hear much of democracy and an inner light shows us that the finest patriotism means devotion to the ideals upon which our nation is founded, and a determination that these ideals shall prevail. For expressing this patriotism and this devotion to democracy, our pickets were sent to jail.

"These pickets, by their dramatic act have flung out to the country that splendid old challenge: 'What does it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his soul?'

"In honoring these women, who were willing to go to jail for liberty, we are showing our love of country and devotion to democracy."

AT the conclusion of Mr. Malone's speech, Mrs. Hepburn called for contributions to the suffrage war chest. Among the first to pledge was Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, who gave $1,000 in honor of Alice Paul, "spirit of the whole courageous movement." Mrs. Howard Gould, who occupied a stage box, gave $5,000 in honor of Dudley Field Malone, and brought one of the loudest and longest periods of applause from the crowd and the pickets on the stage.

Ten dollars was pledged in honor of Inez Milholland by one who wished it were "a million times as much," and Mr. Malone pledged $100 as well in her honor. Two sums of fifty and thirty cents were pledged "from Occoquan—because the suffragettes helped us so much down there." On behalf of the pickets, Mrs. John Rogers, Jr., of New York, rose to give "tenderest thanks for this help from our comrades in the workhouse."

Pledges came quickly for over half an hour, and were still being called out from every part of the crowded house when all the time that could be given them was over. The orchestra sounded the first notes of the Woman's Marseillaise, Vida Milholland came forward from the group of pickets—one of the first of them to serve a sentence—and her ringing,

"There is a sound of crumbling chains
The roar and fall of breaking bars"

brought the listening women and men to their feet till the last word of the stirring song of the Woman's Party.

THE last speaker of the afternoon was Miss Maud Younger, who has just returned from a tour through twelve suffrage states. Miss Younger told many of her experiences in the South, which ranged from official receptions by State governors to a sheriff's guard called out to prevent her holding a meeting in a Tennessee courthouse.

"The South is waking," said Miss Younger, "It is realizing what this fight for democracy at home means. The time has come when we can begin to see the end of the battle. This country refuses to exist longer with incomplete democracy. The federal suffrage amendment, enfranchising twenty million American citizens, will pass Congress this fall. Liberty can no longer be denied to the women of the United States."

The Suffragist

Editors
Miss Pauline Clarke Miss Vivian Pierce

Associate Editors
Miss Lavinia Dock Mrs. Gilson Gardner Miss Pauline Jacobson

Cartoonist, Mrs. Nina E. Allender

Business Department
Advertising, Miss Rebecca Hourwich *Circulation,* Miss May Condon

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THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Introduced
In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.
In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating and Hayden.

Referred
In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.
In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported
Favorably, September 15, 1917.

Present Status
In the Senate
On the calendar awaiting a vote.
In the House
Before the Judiciary Committee.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted
In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced
January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate
1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1917, Favorable majority.

In the House
1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate
January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).
March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House
January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

President Wilson and the Suffrage Amendment

CONGRESS has opened with some anxious Administration manoeuvering of the national suffrage amendment.

The Rules Committee, the "Custodian of the Democratic policies of the House," as its chairman called it, announces that the suffrage amendment will be voted on early in January.

The Judiciary Committee, another strong Administration bulwark, has voted to report the suffrage amendment to the House without recommendations; and has added two riders: that the House vote upon the amendment before Christmas, and limit the time of ratification by the States to seven years.

The hand of the Administration is plainly seen in this piece of committee team work.

Women, whom the amendment will enfranchise, have not demanded action on the measure before Christmas; they have not suggested that ratification be concluded within a specified time.

They have made one unmistakable and unchangeable demand—that the Administration endorse the Susan B. Anthony amendment, and pledge it wholehearted party support.

They have said over and over again that with the support of the Administration the federal suffrage amendment would have been passed long ago; and without the support of the Administration it can never secure a two-thirds majority vote in the Senate and House.

The Administration is too powerful to be a negligible factor in the passing of a great enfranchising act. If it is not with us, it is against us. If it is not turning votes to us, it is keeping votes from us. It is the biggest single influence operative on the decision of Congressmen; and so long as the suffrage amendment continues to be rigidly excluded from the administration program, it will be steadily opposed by a substantial group of controlled party votes.

Speak up President Wilson! Where do you stand on the passage of the federal suffrage amendment?

If you are for it tell the world so. Tell the women of the country so, whom you ask for help in your task of democratizing Europe.

If you are not for it, why are two Congressional Committees controlled by Democrats, forcing it to a vote in January or before Christmas?

Do you think women will believe, in the event of defeat, that the chance votes of a few odd Congressmen have defeatd them?

Do you think they will imagine that two Democratic Committees have united to rush their measure to an adverse vote by accident?

Do you think they will accept the seven-year rider which might mean the rejection of the amendment in the Supreme Court after the whole work of ratification was over?

We tell you again, President Wilson: the women of the United States demand that the President of the United States endorse the federal suffrage amendment and do his utmost, as leader of the party controlling Congress, to secure its passage.

Give Us Democracy in America

Speech of Dudley Field Malone at the Mass Meeting

YOU have no idea of the pride I feel at coming here today. The pride I feel has nothing to do with anything that I have ever done or ever said for suffrage. I have made no sacrifice; he only makes a sacrifice who does something he wished less to do than something else, and I did merely what I wished to do more than all else. I have a pride in coming here today because I met the leaders of the National Woman's Party in political hostility, and meeting them in conflict, I learned the merit of their claim and the courage with which they put it forth.

I want to ask any man within the range of my voice, what group of men in America today has been or is willing to leave comfortable homes, the genteel conversation of clubs, to stand up against temporary scorn and adverse criticism and go to suffer indignity and outrage in jail, to serve the cause of political liberty?

When I see some of the gentlemen who are the busy critics of the National Woman's Party, indulge themselves in an inconvenience for any cause, I shall be profoundly impressed by the arguments they put forth.

MUCH has been said about the result in the State of New York. Concomitant causes produced that result, individuals and groups only made a contribution to it. But I have been very much interested in analyzing the reasons for the woman suffrage victory in my own state. It was due in no small part to a woman who is here today. Years and years ago, before those who are now standing for the men and women as leaders of the suffrage movement, there was a woman in the State of New York who gave not only her time and energy, but her money in great sums, in advocacy of this cause, and she has spoken to you—Mrs. Belmont. She has been considered the pioneer in New York State in our times in advocating the cause of woman suffrage.

Make no mistake, my fellow-citizens, something must have happened to change a defeat two years ago of nearly 200,000 adverse voters into a 90,000 majority, something extraordinary; and nothing, in my judgment, was a greater contribution to that result than the dramatization of the justice of the claim of woman suffrage in this country which the pickets of the National Woman's Party gave.

Now, let me show you how various were the effects. The President wouldn't have been able to criticise the pickets if they had never picketed, and his very criticism of them won the votes of more conservative men in the State of New York, who said: "Well, we will vote because the President wants us to, not because we don't like the pickets—we will follow his advice on the subject." The picketing turned the attention of those who didn't like it toward those who denounced it, and so something that was never intended in the result was a contribution from the conservative vote brought about in this indirect fashion by the picketing agitation. But, affirmatively and positively, labor in the State of New York, for the first time in the history of the fight for suffrage in my state, came to the view that the cause of woman suffrage was no longer a mere transient appeal—that it was a question of substantial justice, that it had a connection with our economic and industrial development, and labor, seeing that form of agitation, picketing, which they had written into the law of the country, adopted by the women of the National Woman's Party, were intrigued into a deep interest, and labor and the radical vote of New York did more than anything else to carry the state for woman suffrage.

WHAT is this picketing? It is the march of women of culture, refinement and indomitable spirit and American tradition, women like Mrs. Hopkins of New Jersey, or Mrs. Brannan, the daughter of Charles A. Dana, or Mrs. Hilles, the daughter of Thomas Bayard, or Mrs. Rogers, the direct descendant of Roger Sherman, who signed the Declaration of Independence—who have done what? Who have walked to the gates of the executive mansion, asking for their political freedom. Have they committed any act of disorder? None. Have they been charged with any, at any time? There has been no such charge. Why, I remember, and you also recollect, that before this great war came on, in the days when the Czar ruled Russia, any peasant in that great country, even though he was not admitted within the door, could come to the gates of the palace, petitioning for redress of grievances.

I have never been persuaded that the President personally was the least bit disturbed by this petitioning; in fact, he told me he was not. I remember the halcyon days when the girls were even invited in to warm their feet and have some hot coffee; and then the policy was switched.

Political agitation always grows under the stimulus of injustice. When a few weeks ago, I came to Washington to see a client of mine, Miss Alice Paul, and was told by the warden that I could not see her, I asked him why. He said: "You will have to see somebody else, I don't know." I said: "Well, everybody, fathers, brothers and husbands, who have come out here to see their relatives have had the same experience, but I want to tell you that I don't intend to see anybody else, because I have taken the trouble to establish the fact that you are the one to grant entrance to this institution." But I was denied the right to see my client, and the next day I had to go to Judge Stafford, of the United States District Court, to take out a writ of habeus corpus to establish the thoroughly well-established and old-time principle that an attorney might see his client. Can you imagine such petty stupidity. But it didn't annoy me, because when I am in a fight, I prefer to fight and not to argue.

And so the next day when I went to the jail, the frosty atmosphere had disappeared, and warm was the generous welcome and hospitality that I received. Then when I went to see Miss Paul, this indomitable person, this graduate of Pennsylvania University, who took her Doctor's Degree there, and wrote her thesis in the University of London, and who, gentle in her origin and environment, is the daughter of a Quaker; when I went to see this woman who, in the best of health seldom weighs, I dare say, more than a hundred pounds, where did I find her? I found her, against her protest, against her demand to see her attorney or her personal physician, transferred into the psychopathic ward. I found, as I walked through the corridor to reach her room, that she was surrounded by maniacs, whose incoherent talk and shrieks could plainly be heard, and when I entered the room, I found that one window was nailed and another had shutters on it, so that most of the air had to come from these corridors on the inside. And here was placed the leader of this party, an honorable exponent, placed there to reflect publicly upon her sanity. I talked to her for two hours, and she was far more sane on all subjects than anybody high or low responsible for her incarceration there.

So I demanded that she be removed forthwith, and she was removed.

I HAVE no intention nor desire to rehearse the horrors of this situation, because they pass into the historic aspects of the fight for woman suffrage, but I do wish to say this: that the men of this government responsible for the manhandling of these women, for the beating up of a dear old lady like Mrs. Nolan, seventy-three years of age, will not only suffer in personal damages, but the cold judgment of history will deprive them of their reputation for manhood, sportsmanship and chivalry.

Agitation is never an agreeable thing, and yet all the great measures of liberty have been won by men through agitation. Picketing is not an agreeable thing—for the government that is picketed, it isn't intended to be an agreeable thing. On the other hand, it has never been the intention of the leaders of the party, nor the spirit of the women picketing, that they went out to be vindictive, or to annoy the President, or to do anything small, or petty, or personal.

IT is within the power of the President and his Administration to pass the Federal Suffrage Amendment. And I hope with all my heart that

we shall have that full measure of democracy in the nation. Do men of the South want the women of New York voting, when their own women are denied the privilege and the right? Do the women of any state want to be voting while their fellow-citizens in other states are denied that privilege? And as long as it remains a fact that in nearly eighteen states the women of those states cannot be enfranchised state by state, because the mechanical laws of the state make it a physical impossibility to do so for from twenty-five to fifty years, then the only way to enfranchise all the women of the country is by the passage of the Federal Amendment.

And why and what is the idea, what is the obstancy, what is the objection? There is none sound in historic retrospect. There is nothing in collision with the purposes of the nation. But men say to me: "Why do you agitate for this now, in the middle of this war?" And my answer is always this: "At the time of the Civil War, Susan B. Anthony and her colleagues were importuned by statesmen and men of great distinction, like Horace Greeley and Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison to cease the agitation for suffrage, and if they did and devoted their whole attention to other things, that these men could guarantee them that the men of the nation, out of gratitude, when the Civil War was over, would see that the women of the country were enfranchised. And yet, in all these long months and years and interminable days of suffering, of hardship, of sacrifice, of courage, the men of the nation and the politicians of the nation have felt no gratitude which would move them."

IN my experience in politics, statesmen and politicians are moved not nearly so much by gratitude as by the political power of the opposition; and so there is nothing inconsistent in advocating this measure of democracy at the same time that we stand solidly behind the purposes of the President and the government in the war. Why, if we are preaching democracy for the masses of Germany, should we not set them this handsome example by granting a real democracy at home?

There are two weapons for us in this war, not only the valiant millions of men in the army and navy who went forth in battle array to destroy the Kaiser and the military clique, but also the political weapon. And what is the political weapon? It is the use of statesmanship and judgment which will convince the German people and the people of the Central Nations that we are ambitious for no territory, that we want no indemnities and no contribution—that we wish only that the possibility of another war shall be destroyed, that we want armament to be lowered forever, that we want the great purposes of a permanent world peace accomplished. And how can that be done? It can be done best by taking every domestic step that the people of the country may take, by example, to show to the people of Germany that we want to give the fullest measure of democracy to our own people, and the biggest thing we can do, the American people can do, is to advocate, urge and see that the Federal Suffrage Amendment is passed at this session of the Legislature.

MY fellow-citizens, this thing must be done; we hope with all our hearts that agitation will not be necessary. We like to feel that there is going to be enough statesmanship in the Administration and in Congress to pass the measure at this session, and no one should want credit or distinction for having been a participant in a great battle like this for human liberty. There will be credit enough for all, and we shall give to the world in this tangible way the earnest proof that we shall stand for the democratic measures in America which will make us sound and unified here, in order that out in the world ablaze, on fire, in the midst of chaos and disaster, behind the battle-line of our soldiers, behind the banner of our fleets, there will be the democratic purpose of a great nation, to make America as a republic and as a democracy, pre-eminent, not only in aspiration, but in the example that she shall give to the world.

A Jubilee Dinner for the Pickets

"FRIENDS, this is a real jubilee dinner!" The first words of Mrs. M. Toscan Bennett, toastmistress, set the note Saturday evening when nearly three hundred officers and friends of the National Woman's Party gathered at a brilliant supper at Rauscher's to honor the released picket prisoners.

The great ball-room was beautiful with colored lights and flowers, hung with the glowing banners that have so often led the way to police court and jail, filled with women who journeyed from forty states to plan the last battle for the federal amendment. Memory of the starvation, the brutal mauling, the cruel tube-feeding the pickets have suffered in prison to keep agitation for suffrage alive was merged into the mood of victory. The prisoners were safe. Their steadfastness in the face of the Administration's injustice had broken the block against suffrage. The word had been given to speed up the amendment in the very first week of Congress. A kindled fire of enthusiasm for what had come out of the picket campaign marked this among the notable dinners in the history of the Woman's Party.

Mrs. Bennett, member of the Advisory Council from Connecticut, a former officer of the Connecticut State Suffrage Association, who resigned to put her energy into the fight for the amendment, expressed finely what the women and men present were feeling.

"We have come here to do honor to the pickets, to the women who are fighting the true battle in this country for democracy. We are not only doing honor to the pickets for the work that they have done for us and for other women, but we are also celebrating several great victories tonight—victories that have been won for us by the triumphant victory of the human spirit as exemplified by these women who have borne the brunt of this battle for us. It is a stirring thought to know that in these women, many of them young in years, all of them young in spirit, there still lives that unquenchable fire of the human spirit."

MR. GILSON GARDNER, one of the best-known newspaper men in the country, was introduced to speak as one of the growing number of men who understand and are willing to help with the women's battle as women have always helped men in all the battles of history. Mr. Gardner said:

"These women are making the real fight. They are standing, at a time when many of us men have not the courage to stand, in the face of power, autocratic, brutal Prussianized power—I say at a time when many of us men have not the courage to stand for the things in which we really believe, this group of women have had the courage. They have had the courage to walk right up to the real guns and to take the real fire. They have known what they believed in.

"They do not believe that the enfranchisement of women will interfere with the successful prosecution of the war. They have been absolutely at all times within their legal rights. They have not been militant in the sense that they have defied law or done anything which is illegal. They have been militants only in the sense that they had the courage to stand for that in which they believe and to put themselves—their health, their safety and if necessary their lives into the balance for what they believed.

"I believe in picketing because I believe in free speech. The banner of the picket as it emerged from suffrage headquarters and went to the gates of the White House was the message of the women of this country to the President of the United States and when that banner was torn down and arrested and the bearer was sent to jail it was not because she had violated any law or because that banner was an offense against anything, it was because illegal and brutal force had intervened and was attempting to suppress free speech.

"I believe in the picketing because I believe in a free press; I believe in the picketing because I believe in free and peaceable assembly. It seems to me that I learned in grammar school or in the law school or somewhere that these three things were guaranteed to the people of the United States.

"These women have maintained the very best—*the* tradition, rather say, of our Republic. I do not know exactly how I would feel if it had not been for this little group of women and for the fact that there are such people and that there are women at this time standing for the things that are really precious in the democracy to which we are all devoted, because these things are really of great moment to all of us. We believe in democracy. We believe in personal liberty and that is why the work that this group of women has done is already bearing fruit.

"There are many explanations as to why picketing is about to secure the legislation we desire, but the real explanation to my thought is that the women of the country have shown that they believe, that they are sincere, that they value these fundamentals of democracy so much that they have been willing to give their life, if necessary."

MISS Maria Moravsky, a young Russian poet and writer traveling in this country, spoke as a woman who has fought in Russia for freedom and is now enfranchised in the overthrow of Russian autocracy. Still in the middle twenties and looking like a brave young boy with her short curls, Miss Moravsky has nevertheless been twice in the Russian prisons and was shot in the 1905 revolution. She brought a stirring message to American women to make a strong stand lest the United States, once free, slip back into the slavery out of which her country has pulled with such heroic sacrifices.

Mrs. Nelson Whittemore, Michigan state chairman, pointed out how exactly the President's message to Congress applies to this stage of the amendment fight, if words are here and there omitted. She read this forceful note through bursts of applause. A number of the pickets spoke—Mrs. Kate Stafford, of Oklahoma; Mrs. L. H. Hornesby, of Illinois; Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Miss Elizabeth McShane and Miss Katherine Lincoln, of Philadelphia; Mrs. Paula Jacobi, of New York; Miss Betty Gram, of Oregon; Mrs. Harvey Wiley, of Washington; Miss Mary Winsor, of Haverford, Pennsylvania, and Mrs. Agnes Morey of Brookline, Massachusettes. Their simple, vivid stories of prison touched the audience poignantly with all the greater force that the dark side was only lightly touched on, and that the strength of spirit of these women who were glad to suffer for a faith extended far enough for a fine sense of fun. The pickets also sang the now-famous ballad, "Woody Wood," and Warden Zinkham's favorite hymn, "Just Keep Sweet."

HONORABLE George B. Francis, Congressman from New York, prophesied victory for the amendment. He gave the pickets credit for a share in the New York suffrage victory, declaring that the union and working men, who have a vital interest in the right to picket, were outraged when they saw the right attacked in the picketers; and that the radicals in New York City saw in the pickets' arrest a lawless attack upon free speech that they were quick to resent. "I think the women who did their bit at Occoquan have the satisfaction of knowing they did their bit in stirring those men up to a realization of what they ought to do," he said:

"The question asked me," Representative Francis continued, "is what is going to be the result on Congress of that tremendous outstanding election. To me, as I see it today, it is incredible that we should refuse to pass the Federal amendment. We cannot stand in the Halls of Congress and impose our taxes, give priority to the necessities of life, insist that all the women of this country shall make every form of supreme sacrifice to save our democracy—and at the same time say that the women of this country are not fit to associate with us politically. I think that every Representative in Congress from New York without question owes it to respond to the mandate of the people on November 6. I am sure that we are going to be successful. I know that the hard work you have done is entitled to that reward and I hope that you waste no time before getting in touch with the constituencies of those few recalcitrant Congressmen that you meet. For my part I shall do my best on the floor of the House and with my friends in Congress to make them see how the tide has turned and that now is the time to put it over."

WHEN Lucy Burns was introduced to speak she called for "a vote of thanks to Alice Paul, who led our forces into jail." Women and men sprang to their feet, catching up the purple, white and gold flags that decorated the tables, cheering, applauding, to honor Alice Paul—and with her Lucy Burns, the other founder of the party that in five years has carried the half-forgotten federal amendment to the foremost of national issues. Miss Burns, still thin from her long hunger-strike—it was only at the last moment that her doctors allowed her to make the journey from New York for the dinner—spoke with the force and fire she always puts into the Amendment fight. She said:

"You know one has the most illuminating moments of one's life inside a jail.

"A rather well-known newspaper writer, who is not in the very least devoted to the interests of the National Woman's Party, came to see me when I was here. His attitude was frankly antagonistic. He took up the various points of criticism against our work, and after I had had really a rather good talk with him I asked him what he would advise us to do. I thought it would be interesting to know just the thing that he wanted us to stop doing because that would be absolutely the thing that was worrying the administration. And it would be a very good index to the sort of thing that we ought to keep up.

"He said that we ought not to devote our attention to the President, who could do nothing, but to Congress, which could do everything. But when I explained the enormous amount of work that was spent upon Congress under the direction of our never-failing legislative and lobby committees and the amount of work that was done in the home constituencies of Congressmen, and about the calls that were made at the House Office Building from day to day, I could see that a rehearsal of this sort of activity did not interest him in the very least. "You ought not to picket the White House," he said, "You ought to picket Congress."

"Well, he went away and left me, and I remembered that when Miss Paul had first planned this picketing she said, 'You see the task before us is this: we have got to focus public attention on the White House to show that the President is the responsible factor for action and to turn the eyes of women all over the country upon the President.'

"It was because we focused public attention upon the White House—it was because of that, ladies and gentlemen, that we all went to jail. It was not because we held a banner, it was not because occasionally when the public knew that arrests were going to be made, a crowd assembled to see these arrests. We were arrested because they wanted to break up the most effective method of propaganda for the national enfranchisement of women that the women of this nation have ever yet discovered.

"We went to jail and we are glad that we did it because it was enormously worth while. It kept before the people of this country and of other countries day by day clearly the fact that the head of this government—this champion democracy of the world—was not only refusing to enfranchise women who were pleading at his gates but was arresting them and having them sentenced to ridiculous terms, not recognizing that if they were offenders at all they were political offenders and entitled to honorable treatment —that it was the last thing in the world for the head of a great Administration to put the stamp of a criminal upon honorable women.

"As the days went on the women got stronger and stronger and the government got weaker and weaker until at the last they did not know what to do. They did not dare say we were innocent. They did not dare send us to jail. The judge ducked and dodged, the commissioners ducked and dodged. They had to turn us into the streets, free to go on with our work just as we had before.

"Now they have not yet, this government of ours has not yet got into its heart the courage to come out clearly for the political liberty of American people. It has not got that far. They may be trying to wriggle out of their difficulty. They may be simply trying to put the spotlight on Congress as they are so anxious that women may be persuaded to do. But if they are trying that they are doomed to complete and total failure. The women of this nation, literally every day and all the day until liberty is won for American women, are going to stand at the doors of the White House demanding that the President of the United States take the lead and make American people free."

AMONG the guests at the dinner were Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, and Mrs. Howard Gould, who were seated at the speakers' table; Mrs. Robert Adamson and Miss Crystal Eastman, of New York City; Mr. John Milholland, Miss Vida Milholland, the Honorable Marcus M. Marks and Mrs. Marks, of New York City; Mrs. William Brown, of West Virginia; Miss Ella Reigal and Miss Mary Ingram, of Philadelphia; Mrs. George C. Hendrie, of Detroit; Miss Mary E. Bakewell, of Pittsburg; Mrs. Donald Hooker, of Baltimore; Mr. and Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, of New Jersey; Mrs. Robert Treat Whitehouse, Mr. and Mrs. Frederic Freeman, of Portland, Maine; Mr. and Mrs. William H. Blauvelt, of Syracuse, New York; Mrs. John Jay White and Mrs. W. Thompson Burch, of Washington.

A Challenge from Russia

By Maria Moravsky

Speech at the Conference Dinner

IF ANYBODY should have told me in Russia that the American women could be arrested for peaceful picketing at the White House, I would never have believed it.

America and Freedom were synonymous for us in Russia. When we became deadly tired of the cruelty of our old regime, we used to read and to dream about your land. The political criminals, exiled to Siberia, ran away to America with the great hope to find liberty across the ocean.

I will not tell about their disappointments; they expected too much, and quite naturally were distressed to realize that America is not a paradise. Yet she could be the happiest place in the world, being so extremely rich and civilized.

FOR many years I have wished to visit America. From the days of my childhood I have dreamed about your beautiful country, and I am happy to have a closer acquaintanceship with you, you who are a nation of originators, inventors, and conquerors. But I must confess—my joy is mixed with sorrow.

I find that the spirit of America is much better than its life. The lot of American people disappointed me. And especially the lot of your women disappointed my enthusiastic heart. I shall try to explain.

I had not expected to find your republic a paradise, although she also was the land of my dreams. But I was sure you had freedom of speech, of thought and of the press.

But when I came to America, I saw almost immediately that your country is not so free and independent as I expected it to be. I read and heard that many of the woman suffragists were put in jail for non-existent political crimes, for the peaceful picketing of the White House.

American women, such patriotic, clever, and well educated citizens as they, who are called the "Aristocracy of America!" Your women—the pride of your country—they were treated as criminals, as low, common thieves! To learn that was too much even for my optimistic Slavish soul.

DURING several months I avoided expressing my opinion about America. I wanted just to observe and learn something of this strange country. And, besides, it seemed too bold to criticize the hospitable country, where I was only a guest.

But now I feel more than a guest here. America becomes always nearer and dearer to me. And, perhaps, it will be a long time before I leave her.

Maria Moravsky
Russian Poet and Revolutionist

Being in love with America, I can not be silent. We never tell the truth to mere acquaintances; we prefer just to exchange compliments with them; it is more agreeable and . . . . much safer. But to those nearest, to our real friends we must sometimes open our hearts and tell even the bitterest truth. Now I have the courage to speak with Americans about their faults.

I do it because they may derive advantage and profit by my painful Russian experiences; I can not be silent, seeing our old Slavish mistakes repeated in this happier state which—I am afraid—will return to the times of our past slavery.

TWELVE years ago we Russians could be put in jail and even killed for peaceful picketing of the Tsar's palace. I remember well that terrible day of the Ninth of February, when unarmed people were shot in front of dark Winter Palace. We asked for freedom peacefully and were punished for it. But don't forget—that was twelve years ago! After the establishment of the Douma, such a thing became unknown. Every day, till the revolution occurred, we asked our old government in a hundred ways:

How much longer shall our people wait for liberty?

And our women were not sent to prison for such a simple ironical question.

But here, in free America, whose name heretofore brought a hopeful smile to the pale lips of slaves, here I heard the revolting story about young girls and the white-haired women in prison.

I had the honor to meet a few of them; they told me about their experience in the jail. And their cases reminded me clearly of our old regime.

I HAVE been twice in the Russian prison: of course the life in the solitary cell was not sweet; but I can assure you it was better than that which American women—suffragists—must bear.

We were permitted to read and write; we wore our own clothes; we were not forced to mix with the criminals; we did no work. (Only a few women, exiled to Siberia for extremely serious political crimes were compelled to work.) And our guardians and even judges respected us, they felt we were victims, we struggled for liberty.

IT IS very sorrowful for me to compare the government of your country and the reign of the cruel Romanoff family. At home, in Russia, I never believed such a seemingly wild comparison would be possible. I never supposed Russian women would get their right sooner than yours.

But now I, who was so envious of your American women—I must now pity you.

Forgive me, my dear American sisters, these bitter words of truth—they were dictated by my Slavish heart, which loves you and wants to see you quite free and happy. You must struggle yet, and struggle hard; but I foresee the day when the American woman enters the White House as a president of all America and will represent the kind and wise heart of her country.

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL ORGANIZES

Concluded from Page 5

P. Frost, South Carolina; and Mrs. Agnes Morey, Massachusetts. From now on the officers of the Advisory Council will constitute the executive committee of the Council, to be called together by the chairman of the Council whenever it is necessary. It is expected that closer co-operation will be the result of the formation of the executive committee, together with a larger measure of real service to the national organization as a whole.

Comments of the Press

Victory for Woman Suffrage

THE victory for woman suffrage won in the state of New York may well be regarded as a crowning and compelling triumph. The empire state by a decisive majority of nearly one hundred thousand extends suffrage to woman on equal terms with man. It is not unlikely that the verdict of New York will exert a powerful influence on Congress and may give to the advocates of the national amendment the necessary two-thirds majority.

The Commoner congratulates the country no less than the women upon the prospect of full national enfranchisement of women. With the new ethical questions that will arise, the world needs woman's vote even more than man needs the ballot. Her participation in politics will hasten the triumph of national prohibition, and when this reform is accomplished, women's vote will make the settlement of the question permanent.

When the war is over, the world will be confronted by the greatest problem it has ever had to meet, namely, the laying of the foundations of peace that shall endure. When that time comes, the mothers, who in all the belligerent nations are giving their sons to the battlefield, should have a voice in building a machinery for the settlement of international disputes which will make this the last war to redden the earth with blood. —*W. J. Bryan in The Commoner, November.*

Ryan Walker, in The New York Call

"Women First" is the Rule of Civilization

Czar-like

NO matter if it is war time it does not seem right to treat American women who have petitioned for the suffrage in the manner in which the women militants who have been released from Occoquan jail have been treated.

If only one or two of the women prisoners in that jail told the stories of brutal and inhuman treatment meted out to them the public would be inclined to believe that it was a case of hysteric imaginings on the part of gently reared women who magnified the ordinary jail treatment into something like the mediaeval tortures inflicted on prisoners in most European countries several centuries ago.

But when thirty or more women all practically agree in telling similar stories of deliberate attempts to break down their spirit by threats and rough usage in jail the American public is reluctantly forced to the conclusion that some one in authority in Washington blundered grievously in permitting such conduct on the part of jail officials.

According to Mrs. Eunice Dana Brannan, wife of John Winters Brannan, president of Bellevue and Allied hospitals, of New York, her experience in Occoquan prison, where she was confined for her picketing activities was extremely brutal. She claims her companions had been cruelly treated, and that last July, when sixteen pickets had first been committed to the workhouse, the plan had been "to break us down by inflicting extraordinary humiliation upon us." This, Mrs. Brannan added, had failed to stop the picketing, and then, she alleges, "the plan of terrorizing us was conceived and carried out to a degree that has not yet been told."

Mrs. Brannan describes the scene that took place in the reception room on Nov. 14, following the arrests, after 41 women of the National Women's party had picketed the White House gates on Nov. 10. She added that when a demand was made to see the Superintendent the women were attacked by guards, and that Mrs. Lewis, who had acted as spokesman, was seized, lifted from her feet, and thrown through the door. Mr. Brannan added:

"I saw three men seize Miss Burns, twisting her arms behind her, and then two other men grasp her shoulders. There were six to ten guards in the room and many others collected on the porch—40 to 50 in all. These all rushed in. Instantly the room was in havoc. The guards fell upon us. I saw Miss Lincoln, a slight young girl, thrown to the floor. Mrs. Nolan, a delicate old lady of 73, was mastered by two men. The furniture was overturned and the room was a scene of havoc. The whole group of women were thrown, dragged and hurled out of the office, down the steps and across the road and field to the administration building where another group of bullies was waiting for us. The women were thrown down roughly on benches. I was thrown, with four others, in a cell with a narrow bed and dirty blankets. The chair was immediately taken out."

That sounds more like Russia under the czar than like America.—*Lawrence, Mass., Telegram, Dec. 3.*

Even the President's Thinking

THE natural result of the triumph of woman suffrage in the Empire State is already well in evidence. There is no question today which is inspiring so much concern, so much expert, sophisticated and more or less (mostly less) disinterested thought on the part of the politicians of every technical description as the probable disposition in future elections of this tremendous factor.

The competition to obtain a fair share of this highly desirable increment of political strength will be keen and prolonged. If we were to venture a prediction we should say likewise that the competition is bound to be salutary in the highest degree. But we are speaking now not of a competition based on claims to gratitude for past support of or assistance to the women's cause but of a rivalry between the old organizations to win approval and enlist votes by correct behavior and a meritorious attitude on the coming issues as they severally arise.—*The New York Sun, Nov. 20.*

Another Turk

MISS Maude Younger and Miss Joy Young, the woman suffragists, spoke here Wednesday night to a rousing big crowd in Central Labor Union hall, having been refused admission to public buildings.

Mr. Betterton, police commissioner, an ex-liquor dealer, even wanted to exclude these women from the town, but he was practically alone in this contention.

Many say he should be sent to Turkey to preside over the destinies of some fourth-rate town there.— *Knoxville (Tenn.) Plain Dealer, Nov. 29.*

Paradox of the President

IT is paradoxical that one who is so earnest in the cause of universal democracy that he is leading a nation into a war which he hopes will make the world safe for the principles of that political doctrine, should decline to use his political power to make his own country safe for democracy by urging Congress to make democracy universal in the United States.—*San Diego, Cal., Union*

Even the Democrats

WOMEN of New York who wanted to vote and now have the right to do so, find a sudden and remarkable change in the political atmosphere—a change so great that, like the old woman in the nursery rhyme, each one must be pinching herself and saying doubtfully, "If this be I, as I do think it be."

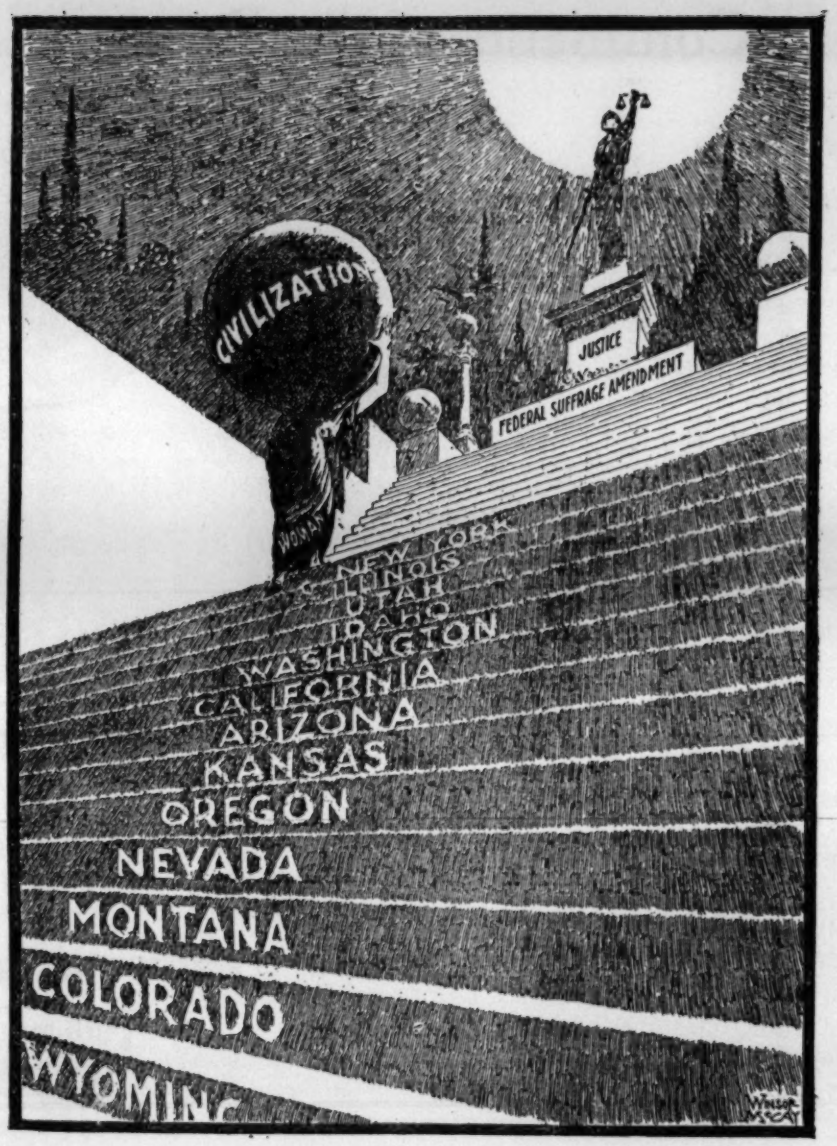
After years of private and public snubbing by male politicians, of indifference to their wishes and pleas, of direct and indirect opposition, even of official insult, these women find their favor earnestly sought by all the hitherto unfriendly elements. They discover themselves to be the object of a political courtship of the most ardent kind. All the party organizations—Tammany, the Republicans, the Socialists, the Prohibitionists—are all at once engaged in a scramble to win the support of women voters. Steps have been taken for enrolling them in the ranks of the different parties and the women are the center of political interest for the first time in their lives.—*Denver Times, Nov. 16.*

Treatment of the Pickets

TIME and again banners have been forcibly torn from the hands of the picketers, and shots have been fired at the banners, without interference by the authorities.

When it is recalled that the courts have held that peaceable picketing is perfectly legal and that interference with peaceable picketers is illegal, and the further fact that no denial has been made that the suffrage picketing at the White House, so far as the picketers themselves are concerned, has been wholly peaceable, one is forced to wonder precisely what course of logic the civil authorities in Washington, D. C., are pursuing.

In regard to the advisability of suffragist picketing at the White House gates there naturally is a division of opinion. That it is perfectly legal there can be no question. Labor is allowed to picket; why not suffrage? Some maintain that the picketing is embarrassing to the government, that it tends to nullify the efforts toward unity of thought and action in waging a one hundred per cent war. Others hold just as firmly that this is the logical time for women to strike for suffrage and that the government needs their advice and assistance. As we said before, it is not to be expected that we should be in harmony on that subject.



Winsor McCay in the New York American, Nov. 8

Nearing the Goal

However, there is a question that grows out of the picketing episode, on which we feel quite certain most of our readers will agree. That is the arrest and alleged inhuman treatment accorded these women picketers while prisoners in the Occoquan workhouse at Washington, D. C.

The stories describing their treatment at Occoquan, related by these women, are almost unbelievable. But for the fact that most of them are women of unquestioned veracity and that they all relate essentially the same story, they would not be believed. Among the indignities to which they have been subjected are these: Being locked up in jail rooms with filthy drunken men and women; forcible feeding; arms chained to cell bars; being compelled to mop the rooms and floors of the toilet rooms in the negro quarters; denied the right to receive visitors, the right to wear their own clothes or to purchase their own food; when greater privacy was asked for the doors to their cells were taken down; when they asked for better air, the windows were nailed up.

These are some of the more serious charges that are made against the superintendent of Occoquan workhouse. It is possible, as some one likely will suggest, that some of them are exaggerated. Granted, but if one-tenth of what is charged is true a sweeping reformation should be started immediately in that institution.

Regardless of whether we approve of woman suffrage or picketing, the fact remains that we are still supposed to be a civilized people and that these forty odd ladies now serving time in the Occoquan workhouse are humans, and are entitled to at least as good treatment as is accorded criminals confined in the same institution. While we are fighting to dethrone autocracy abroad let's make certain that our own skirts are clear.—*The Dayton (Ohio) Journal, Nov. 23.*

Whims of Autocracy

THERE are certain features concerning the jailing of the White House picketers that are not quite clear to the public.

One of these is why only a few of the women displaying the suffrage banners were arrested and sentenced to Occoquan workhouse.

If one of the picketers was guilty of an offense against the majesty of the law, then they all were equally guilty for they all did identically the same things. If 41 of them were guilty of "obstructing traffic" at the White House gates, all of the more than one hundred others who have been engaged in picketing also were guilty and deserved the same punishment.

It would be interesting to know why the judge refused to sentence the wife of a prominent congressman, who happens to stand high in the confidence of the administration at Washington. This suffragist was arrested along with more than a score of other picketers. She had been displaying suffrage banners at the White House gates the same as the others. She maintained to the court she was equally guilty with the others of "obstructing traffic" and she insisted that if the others were sentenced to Occoquan she should be sent with them.

Furthermore it develops that a few others, who happened to be personally known to certain prominent administration leaders, have been treated with the utmost consideration at Occoquan.

Perhaps, these are only remarkable coincidences. We hope that such is the case. None the less they have aroused much interest and have become a source of quite a bit of speculation; and in the meantime the autocrat of Occoquan continues to ride rough-shod over the rights of unoffending, or at the most, of only technically offending prisoners.—*Dayton (Ohio) Journal, Nov. 24.*

Treasurer's Report

Treasurer: Miss Mary Gertrude Fendall
Assistant Treasurer: Miss Maud Jamison

Bank of Deposit: American Security and Trust Co. Washington, D. C.

Auditors: Marwick, Mitchell Peat & Company

$300,000.00 RAISED FOR SECURING PASSAGE OF THE FEDERAL AMENDMENT—CONTRIBUTIONS FOR ANOTHER $100,000.00

List of Contributions from December 4 Through December 8, 1917

Contributions made to National Headquarters:

Mrs. Theresa Holmes	$ 100.26
Mrs. Maude Haidelson	4.00
Mrs. Lillian M. McAdow	10.00
Mr. Andre Tridon	2.00
Miss Alice T. Jenkins	1.00
Miss Mary E. Hawley	5.00
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Mrs. W. Thompson Burch	35.00
Mrs. F. R. Hazard	50.00
Mrs. Frederick T. Ackermann	150.00
Collected	25.75
Total collected by National Headquarters	$ 1,744.01
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	$283,632.71
Total collected by National Headquarters through Dec. 8, 1917	$285,376.72

Contributions made to South Dakota Headquarters:

Mrs. J. D. Stemler	4.50
Mrs. J. E. Bird	5.00
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A SIGH of relief came from the keeper of the workhouse at Occoquan when he was ordered to send his suffragette prisoners back to the Washington jail. He never liked the task of caring for these ladies, much less since they began holding him up to scorn as the greatest brute who ever superintended a prison.

Newspapers the country over have given the prisoners the benefit of their story. The prisoners asserted that the jail was filthy, the food intolerable and that every occasion was accepted to treat them as the scum of humanity.—*Philadelphia North American, Nov. 27.*

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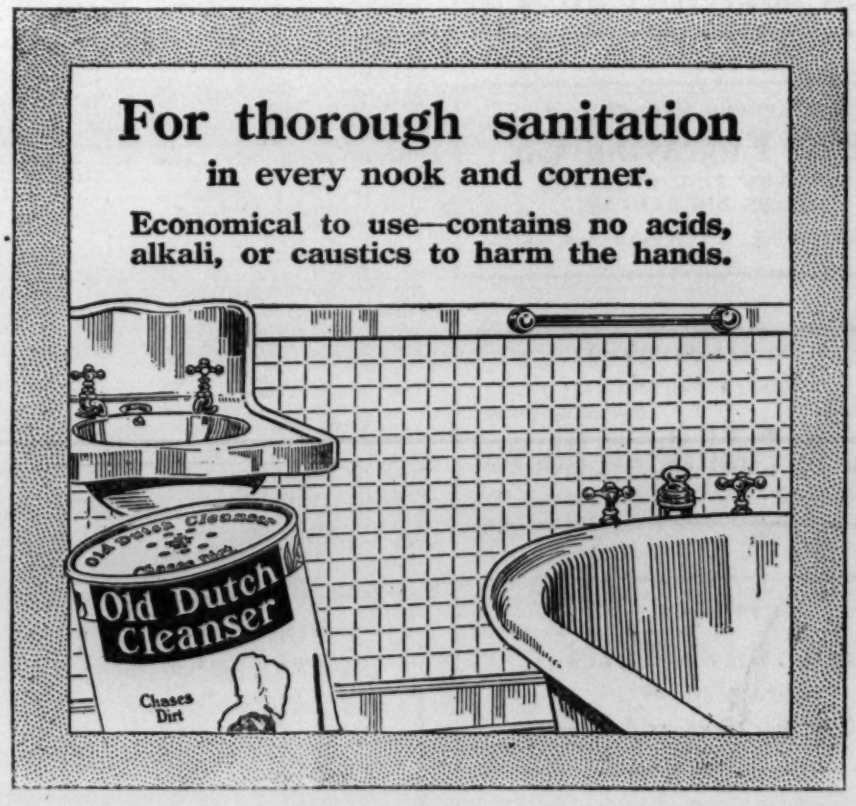

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